

## Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY NEA:WBSMITH:BDF

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NEA:ALATHERTON

S/S - MR. SEBAS

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O 172007Z MAR 77 ZFF6

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INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

WH FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, MASS, UN, IS, US

SUBJECT: U.S.-ISRAELI RELATIONS; UNSYG INVITATION TO  
PLO; SOVIET JEWS

1. SUMMARY. THE SECRETARY EXPLAINED TO AMBASSADOR DINITZ  
OUR POSITION OF LEAVING TO WALDHEIM WHOM HE WOULD INVITE  
TO MARCH 17 UN MEETING AND RECEPTION AND TOLD HIM, WHEN  
DINITZ NOTED HE HAD RECEIVED STRONG CABLE FROM FOREIGN  
MINISTER ABOUT PLO INCLUSION, THAT NOTHING COULD BE DONE  
AT THIS POINT. DINITZ ASSERTED UNSYG HAD WANTED TO  
INVOLVE U.S. IN DECISION AND SECRETARIAT HAD PROMPTLY  
LEAKED STORY. IN CONNECTION WITH THE SECRETARY'S TRIP TO  
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MOSCOW, DINITZ DELIVERED LIST OF SOVIET JEWS IMPRISONED  
IN USSR AND SOVIET JEWS FACING DIFFICULTIES IN EMIGRATING  
TO ISRAEL, AND THE SECRETARY SAID WE WOULD DO OUR BEST.  
DINITZ EXPRESSED ISRAEL'S CONCERN ABOUT WAVE OF ANTI-  
SEMITISM IN USSR STARTING IN JANUARY. THE SECRETARY GAVE  
DINITZ INTERIM STATUS REPORT ON VARIOUS BILATERAL MATTERS  
DISCUSSED DURING RABIN VISIT TO WASHINGTON. ON HUMAN  
RIGHTS REPORT ABOUT ISRAEL, THE SECRETARY OBSERVED THESE  
REPORTS WERE PREPARED ONLY BECAUSE OF CONGRESSIONAL REQUIRE-  
MENT, AND HE HAD SUGGESTED ON HILL THEY SHOULD BE KEPT

CONFIDENTIAL. DINITZ ASSERTED REPORT ON ISRAEL WHEN COMPARED WITH ONE ON EGYPT HAD BEEN WRITTEN WITH CRITICAL EYE. THE SECRETARY SAID HE WOULD STUDY ISRAELI COMPLAINT. END SUMMARY.

2. AMBASSADOR DINITZ WITH MINISTER BAR-ON CALLED MARCH 16 AT HIS REQUEST ON THE SECRETARY, WHO WAS ACCOMPANIED BY ATHERTON, FOR FOLLOW-UP SESSION TO RABIN VISIT. ON QUESTION OF UNSYG INVITATION FOR PLO REPRESENTATIVE TO ATTEND MARCH 17 UN MEETING AND RECEPTION FOR THE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY OBSERVED HE HAD STATED EARLIER IN THE DAY AT CONGRESSIONAL HEARING, WHEN ASKED, THAT CIRCUMSTANCES WERE SIMPLE. WHEN MATTER CAME TO THE SECRETARY, QUESTION WAS PUT OF HOW INVITATIONS SHOULD BE HANDLED. HE HAD REPLIED IT WAS UN AFFAIR, UP TO UNSYG TO DETERMINE WHO SHOULD BE INVITED, AND NOT APPROPRIATE FOR U.S. TO MAKE SUGGESTIONS. THE SECRETARY LATER HAD BEEN ASKED WHAT POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE ATTACHED TO THIS AND HAD REPLIED: ABSOLUTELY NONE; IT WAS PURELY A PROTOCOL MATTER.

3. DINITZ SAID HE APPRECIATED THE SECRETARY'S POSITION. ISRAEL'S CONCERN WAS NOT THAT U.S. MIGHT HAVE CHANGED ITS POSITION ON PLO WITHOUT PLO HAVING GIVEN ANYTHING IN RETURN. U.S.-ISRAELI RELATIONS WERE SUFFICIENTLY CLOSE THAT ISRAEL WOULD BE GIVEN CHANCE TO ARGUE WITH U.S. SECRET

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BEFORE ANY SUCH CHANGE. HOWEVER, ARAB WORLD WOULD INTERPRET THIS INVITATION DIFFERENTLY. MUCH WAS DONE IN MIDDLE EAST THROUGH SYMBOLISM. WHEN PRESIDENT FORD VISITED ROMANIA, CEAUSESCU SNUCK IN PLO REPRESENTATIVE TO SHAKE HANDS WITH HIM. RESULTANT STORM WAS ONLY SMALL ONE BECAUSE U.S. SPOKESMAN COULD SAY PRESIDENT HAD NOT KNOWN IDENTITY OF PLO REPRESENTATIVE.

4. REPLYING TO ATHERTON, DINITZ CONFIRMED HE HAD NOTED STATEMENTS BY DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN AND WHITE HOUSE SPOKESMAN. ISRAELI EMBASSY WAS BESIEGED WITH INQUIRIES AND WAS EMPHASIZING ISRAEL SAW NO CHANGE IN U.S. POSITION, BUT WAS CHARGED BY U.S. JOURNALISTS WITH TRYING TO BURY SIGNIFICANCE OF INVITATION. DINITZ VENTURED U.S. SHOULD HAVE ASKED UNSYG NOT TO INVITE THOSE WE DO NOT RECOGNIZE AND CITED EXAMPLE OF UNSYG RECEPTION FOR SADAT, TO WHICH AMBASSADOR HERZOG WAS NOT INVITED. DINITZ COMMENTED IF UNSYG HAD HAD NO DOUBTS, HE WOULD NOT HAVE ASKED FOR U.S. VIEW.

5. DINITZ CONTINUED UNSYG CLEARLY HAD WANTED TO INVOLVE U.S. IN HIS DECISION. IN FACT, IT WAS UN SECRETARIAT WHICH HAD PROMPTLY LEAKED STORY. DINITZ HAD BELIEVED FORMULA COULD HAVE BEEN FOUND BY WHICH U.S. COULD HAVE

EXCLUDED PLO WITHOUT OFFENDING OTHERS WHICH WOULD HAVE SIMPLIFIED MATTERS FOR U.S. NOT TO MENTION AVOIDANCE OF IMPLICATIONS IN ISRAEL. THE SECRETARY SAID U.S. WAS SENSITIVE TO THOSE IMPLICATIONS. DINITZ SAID HE HAD RECEIVED ANGRY TELEPHONE CALL AND STRONG CABLE FROM FONMIN ALLON. THE SECRETARY STATED HE DID NOT BELIEVE ANYTHING COULD BE DONE AT THIS POINT.

6. DINITZ EXPLAINED HE HAD SOUGHT MEETING TO CONVEY ISRAEL'S CONCERNS IN RELATION TO FORTHCOMING TRIP BY THE SECRETARY TO MOSCOW. HE SAID ISRAEL HOPED THAT IN THE SECRETARY'S DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIETS, TO EXTENT MIDDLE  
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EAST AROSE, U.S. WOULD NOT RELATE TO SOVIETS ITS POSITIONS ON ISSUES, AS SOVIETS WOULD IMMEDIATELY CAPITALIZE ON THIS WITH ARABS. THE SECRETARY SAID HE HAD NO PROBLEM WITH ISRAEL'S REQUEST. DINITZ CONTINUED THAT ISRAEL HOPED, SECONDLY, U.S. WOULD INVOLVE SOVIETS AS LITTLE AS POSSIBLE IN PEACE-MAKING PROCESS. THE SECRETARY HAD EXPLAINED CLEARLY DURING HIS VISIT TO ISRAEL HOW HE INTENDED TO PROCEED IN THIS RESPECT, AND ISRAEL AGREED. THE SECRETARY SAID SOVIETS HAD NOT BEEN PRESSING FOR INVOLVEMENT, ALTHOUGH PERHAPS THEY WOULD DO SO DURING HIS MOSCOW VISIT.

7. DINITZ SAID ISRAEL'S THIRD POINT WAS TO ASK THE SECRETARY'S ASSISTANCE ON LIST OF SOVIET JEWS IMPRISONED IN USSR AND LIST OF SOVIET JEWS FACING DIFFICULTIES IN EMIGRATING TO ISRAEL. THE SECRETARY EXAMINED THE LATTER LIST AND NOTED THAT SOME PERSONS WERE FROM SPLIT FAMILIES, HAVING CLOSE RELATIVES IN ISRAEL, AND SOME WERE NOT, WHICH DINITZ CONFIRMED. ANSWERING THE SECRETARY, DINITZ EXPLAINED THAT FIRST LIST COMPRISED INDIVIDUALS ARRESTED IN JUNE 1970 IN LENINGRAD AND GIVEN LONG SENTENCES. ALL HAD BEEN TRYING TO EMIGRATE TO ISRAEL, ALTHOUGH DINITZ DID NOT KNOW ACTUAL CHARGES FOR WHICH THEY WERE CONVICTED. BACKGROUND FOR ISRAEL'S CONCERN WAS GROWING WAVE OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN USSR STARTING IN JANUARY. PERSONAL ATTACKS ON INDIVIDUALS WERE CREATING INCITEMENT. PRESS AND TELEVISION STORIES COMPARING ZIONISM WITH HITLERISM HAD ANTI-SEMITIC OVERTONES. IZVESTIYA CARRIED ATTACK MARCH 4 ON GROUP OF POTENTIAL EMIGRANTS TO ISRAEL, WHICH INCLUDED NOTED SCIENTIST PROFESSOR LERNER, AND ACCUSED THEM OF CONTACT WITH CIA. BAR-ON COMMENTED THIS REFERENCE TO CIA WAS NEW LINE WHICH SOVIETS HAD NOT USED FOR SEVERAL YEARS.

8. DINITZ ADDED INTENSITY OF ANTI-SEMITISM CAMPAIGN CREATED DANGER FOR SAFETY OF EVERY SOVIET JEW. ANSWERING  
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THE SECRETARY, DINITZ SAID SHARANSKY GROUP COMPRISED THREE INDIVIDUALS CONSTANTLY MENTIONED AS UNDER SUSPICION AND FOLLOWED BY KGB. OTHER TWO WERE LERNER AND VLADIMIR SLEPAK. AS RABIN HAD EXPLAINED TO THE SECRETARY, ISRAEL DISTINGUISHED BETWEEN SOVIET DISSIDENTS IN GENERAL AND SOVIET JEWS, AS LATTER WERE CALLING ONLY FOR RIGHT TO LIVE WITHOUT PERSECUTION OR TO EMIGRATE. IT WAS WRONG TO LINK LATTER WITH ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGN, AS DISSIDENTS HAD VARIOUS MOTIVATIONS. ANYTHING THE SECRETARY COULD DO TO EASE SITUATION, ESPECIALLY ON OVERALL SOVIET JEWISH EMIGRATION WOULD BE APPRECIATED. SECRETARY SAID WE WOULD DO OUR BEST.

9. THE SECRETARY SAID HE WANTED TO GIVE INTERIM REPORT ON BILATERAL MATTERS RAISED DURING RABIN VISIT.

A. U.S.-ISRAELI CONSULTATIVE GROUP ON ISRAEL'S DEFENSE EXPORTS: U.S. EXPECTED TO HAVE PROPOSAL FOR ISRAEL SHORTLY AS BASE FROM WHICH WE COULD WORK. ATHERTON INDICATED PM DIRECTOR GELB WOULD PRESUMABLY HEAD GROUP ON U.S. SIDE, WITH NEA REPRESENTATION.

B. MUNITIONS CONTROL CASES: THE SECRETARY SAID THESE WERE NOW MOVING ALONG IN NORMAL FASHION.

C. F-16 AND HYDROFOIL COPRODUCTION: THE SECRETARY SAID THIS MATTER WAS UNDER CAREFUL REVIEW. DINITZ SAID THIS WAS SOLE BILATERAL ITEM ABOUT WHICH HE HAD RECEIVED INQUIRY AND ASKED HOW SOON ISRAEL WOULD HAVE REPLY, NOTING CONCERN THAT ISRAEL MIGHT LOSE PLACE IN PRODUCTION QUEUE. THE SECRETARY SAID WE WOULD TRY TO EXPEDITE REPLY.

D. INCREASE IN CASH GRANT PORTION OF FY 78 SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE: THE SECRETARY SAID WE WERE STUDYING THIS REQUEST WHICH WAS DIFFICULT.

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E. SYRIAN JEWRY: THE SECRETARY ASSURED DINITZ AMBASSADOR MURPHY WAS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO FOLLOW UP THIS MATTER ALONG LINES WE HAD AGREED. DINITZ NOTED ISRAEL WAS PLAYING DOWN THIS SUBJECT.

F. ADDITIONAL EL AL LANDING RIGHTS: THE SECRETARY SAID HE HAD TALKED WITH TRANSPORTATION SECRETARY ADAMS AND WOULD MEET WITH HIM NEXT WEEK TO REVIEW LONG LIST OF INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION PROBLEMS TO WORK FOR AGREEMENT ON ALL OF THEM.

G. SPANISH-ISRAELI RELATIONS: THE SECRETARY SAID WE

WERE INFORMING SPAIN OF OUR HOPE FOR EARLY MOVEMENT.

10. THE SECRETARY SAID HE HAD BEEN INFORMED BY ATHERTON OF ISRAELI DISPLEASURE ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT ON ISRAEL, AS CONVEYED PREVIOUS DAY BY BAR-ON. THE SECRETARY HAD REMINDED CONGRESS EARLIER IN DAY THESE REPORTS HAD BEEN PREPARED ONLY BECAUSE OF CONGRESSIONAL REQUIREMENT. THE SECRETARY HAD STATED AT HEARING THAT HE UNDERSTOOD WHY CONGRESS WANTED MATERIAL BUT QUESTION NEEDED TO BE ASKED WHETHER REPORTS SHOULD NOT BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL. DINITZ SAID ISRAEL HAD NOTHING AGAINST SUCH REPORTS, AS IT FELT THAT IT NEED NOT TAKE SECOND PLACE TO ANY COUNTRY. ISRAEL WOULD BE GLAD TO EXPOSE ITS PROCESSES TO ANY OBJECTIVE OBSERVER, ESPECIALLY FRIENDLY COUNTRY LIKE U.S. HOWEVER, DINITZ, WHO HAD NOW READ HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT ON ISRAEL COMPLETELY, FELT IT WAS WRITTEN WITH CRITICAL EYE, WHEREAS REPORT ON EGYPT WAS WRITTEN LENIENTLY. REPORTS SAID, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT ISRAELI PRESS WAS FREE BUT SUBJECTED TO MILITARY CENSORSHIP AND THAT EGYPTIAN PRESS WHILE STATE-CONTROLLED OBSERVED "VOLUNTARY CENSORSHIP," WHICH WAS RIDICULOUS BECAUSE EGYPT HAD NO REAL PRESS FREEDOM.

11. THE SECRETARY SAID HE HAD NOT READ ALL THESE REPORTS  
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WITH CARE, BUT HE RECALLED ISRAEL WAS DESCRIBED AS "FREE" AND EGYPT AS "PARTLY FREE." PART OF PROBLEM AROSE FROM HAVING TO RELATE ASSERTIONS BY PRIVATE INTERNATIONAL GROUPS WHOSE SOURCES WERE DIFFICULT TO CHECK. LATIN AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS HAD COMPLAINED THEY WERE GIVEN NO FAIR CHANCE TO RESPOND TO CHARGES BY SUCH BODIES AS AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL BEFORE APPEARANCE OF DEPARTMENT OF STATE REPORTS. THE SECRETARY CONCLUDED BY SAYING HE WOULD STUDY ISRAELI COMPLAINT.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Executive Order:** 11652 XGDS-3  
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**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009